



Figure 1

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Apollo as a  
Herdsman,  
Playing a Pipe,  
with Mercury in  
the Background,  
1654 (RD 721)

Cambridge, MA,  
Harvard Art  
Museums/Fogg  
Museum

# Drawings by Claude Lorrain: The Past Fifty Years

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MARCEL ROETHLISBERGER

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## INTRODUCTION

The publication by the University of California Press in 1968 of the first complete *catalogue raisonné* of the drawings by Claude Lorrain (1604/5–1682), written by the present author (hereafter RD [Roethlisberger: Drawings]), marked a new start in the study and promotion of the artist's drawn work.<sup>1</sup> Before that, there existed unillustrated summary catalogues of the Claude drawings in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem, by H. J. Scholten (1904);<sup>2</sup> in the Louvre by Louis Demonts (1923);<sup>3</sup> in the British Museum by Arthur Hind (1926), who in 1925 also wrote a general book on Claude's drawings;<sup>4</sup> and in the Albertina by Eckhart Knab (1953).<sup>5</sup> To compensate, 130 facsimiles of outstanding quality had been issued from 1920 to 1968 in four now very rare publications.<sup>6</sup> Also in 1968 Marco Chiarini's folio volume *Claudio Lorenese: Disegni*, was published by La Nuova Italia, Florence, with seventy-four color plates and excellent commentaries, the plates regrettably of lesser quality. The *Liber Veritatis*—with its 200 magnificent sheets in the collection of the Dukes of Devonshire from 1720 until 1957, when it passed to the British Museum—had remained virtually unknown. Mrs. Mark Pattison (*née* Emily Francis Strong; later Lady Dilke) and Walter Friedländer, two early authors on Claude and among the very few who had seen the *Liber Veritatis* sheets, dismissed them as forgeries. All the more important was the

astounding group of c. 650 aquatints after Claude drawings issued in London from 1774 to 1837, done mainly by Richard Earlom (1743–1822), who engraved the *Liber Veritatis* plus another hundred plates in 1774–77; the engraver Lodovico Caracciolo (*fl.* early nineteenth century) copied Earlom's prints in Rome in 1815; and between 1797 and 1826 Frederick Christian Lewis the Elder (1779–1856) engraved a hundred drawings from the British Royal Collection (published in 1844). Despite the fact that all these prints (neglected by nearly all art historians) are monochrome brown on white paper, they are in fact remarkably faithful and suggestive. They were to prove to be an important source of inspiration for countless English watercolor painters of the time, such as William Sawrey Gilpin (1762–1843) and Humphrey Repton (1752–1818).

The 1968 catalogue of Claude drawings discusses and reproduces nearly 1,200 works in chronological order, including the *Liber Veritatis*, recognized since 1959 as the authentic spine of Claude's chronology: eighty-two of its pages had first been reproduced in my paintings catalogue of 1961 (hereafter RP [Roethlisberger: Paintings]). Conveniently, two volumes of drawings by Claude had come to light in time to be included in the *catalogue raisonné*: the so-called Animal album (1957), with its sixty-four small animal sketches, and the Wildenstein album (1960; e.g., Figs. 1–2),<sup>7</sup> which since 1971 has been called the





Figure 2

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Pastoral Landscape  
with a Figure by a  
Lake, c. 1675  
(RD 1102)

New York, Private  
Collection

Norton Simon album, with its mixed group of sixty (originally eighty-one) exquisite drawings. On the whole, the attribution and dating of the drawings posed comparatively few problems. Thanks to dated paintings and to the sequence of the *Liber*

*Veritatis* (hereafter LV), the drawings that are related in one way or another to paintings—roughly half of the oeuvre—can be assigned their precise places. Some of what we summarily call “nature drawings” bear a date or can be dated for specific reasons;



Figure 3

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Pastoral Landscape,  
1667 (RD 919)

Location Unknown

many others can be convincingly situated to within a decade; yet others are more difficult to place. The highly personal drawing style of Claude and the fact that he had neither pupils nor assistants facilitate the question of authenticity. Indeed, scholars have largely agreed with the authorship and dating proposed in the 1968 catalogue, and innumerable imitations and copies have been detected. The exemplary research of Patrizia Cavazzini on Agostino Tassi (c. 1580–1644)<sup>8</sup> and Anne Charlotte Steland on Herman van Swanevelt (c. 1600–1655)<sup>9</sup> has helped to clarify Claude's beginnings.

In light of today's knowledge, certain specific details from the *catalogue raisonné* can be corrected. For example, the appearance in 2009 of the *Pastoral Landscape* (RD 919) on the Paris art market, a drawing related to LV 118, whose current whereabouts are unknown (Fig. 3), reveals that the indistinct date at lower right is 1667 (not 1663), as can be confirmed on the basis of an inscription on its verso, *Claudio Gellée iv [sic] fecit / Roma questo di 22 agost / 1667*.<sup>10</sup>

A few drawings no longer qualify as being by Claude.<sup>11</sup> For instance, in my opinion, the *Pyramid of Cestius*, in the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris (RD 33; Fig. 4),<sup>12</sup> should be reassigned to the school of Paul Bril (c. 1553/54–1626). The *Magdalene Seated next to a Tree*, formerly in the collection of I. Q. van Regteren Altena (1899–1980) and now untraced (RD 40; Fig. 5),<sup>13</sup> is perhaps German. The attribution of the so-called *Self-portrait of Claude*, the frontispiece to the British Museum's *Liber Veritatis* (RD 179; Fig. 6), remains in my view uncertain.<sup>14</sup> The *View of Delphi*—formerly in the Gathorne-Hardy collection, which appeared on the art market at Sotheby's, London, in 2009 (RD 683a; Fig. 7)<sup>15</sup>—is, I believe, by an eighteenth-century English artist. Among the drawings I now consider to be copies after Claude are RD 796 (location unknown) and RD 1080 (now in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm; see Fig. 29 below).<sup>16</sup> Still unresolved are the attributions of RD 331 and RD fig. 1193, both on the art market in 1998 and originally stuck to each other in the Wildenstein album (locations currently unknown).<sup>17</sup>



Figure 4 (above)

Here attributed to  
PAUL BRIL  
(school of)

Pyramid of Cestius  
(RD 33)

Paris, École  
Nationale Supérieure  
des Beaux-Arts



Figure 5

Here attributed  
to GERMAN  
SCHOOL (?)

Magdalene Seated  
next to a Tree  
(RD 40)

Location Unknown





Figure 6 (top)

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN (?)

Self-portrait  
(RD 179)

London, British  
Museum

Figure 7 (bottom)

Here attributed to  
an EIGHTEENTH-  
CENTURY  
ENGLISH ARTIST

View of Delphi  
(RD 683a)

Location Unknown

On the other hand, a few early sheets that I originally considered doubtful have been rehabilitated as autograph. I concur, for example, with the conclusions in Michael Kitson's review of my *catalogue raisonné*, published in these pages,<sup>18</sup> upgrading as genuine, for instance, the *River Landscape with Boats* in the Louvre (RD 1136; Fig. 8),<sup>19</sup> as well as RD 1140 (Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie), RD 1141 (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum), RD 1153 (Haarlem, Teylers Museum), RD 1157 (location unknown), and RD 1167 (Haarlem, Teylers Museum). Moreover, the *Landscape with the Church of SS. Trinità dei Monti, Rome, and a Goatherd Resting with His Herd in the Foreground* (RD 1145; Fig. 9), which I had questioned on the basis of a photograph, turned out to be genuine when sold in London in 2016.<sup>20</sup>

A serious limitation of the 1968 oeuvre catalogue lies in the plates. While all the drawings were reproduced—which in itself was a great advance, since images of most of them had previously been unavailable—they are reduced to a single standard size and appear monochrome in shades of gray, whereas in reality their sizes and colors differ markedly. Over a third of all the drawings are on blue paper. The gray chalk, deep brown wash and ink, the sometimes lavish opaque white heightening—particularly effective on a blue ground—and the occasional gray, pink, and yellow washes account for a striking chromatic richness in the drawings. In publications, color was introduced with my catalogue of the Wildenstein album (1962),<sup>21</sup> then in a book in 1971, in all books since 1996, and in exhibition catalogues since 2006. Several recent catalogues and books include startling enlargements in color.

Across the past fifty years much has happened in terms of advances in scholarship, exhibitions, and the publication of books and articles. New approaches have shed new light on Claude's art; discoveries of new drawings have been made; and the art market has brought to light unknown works—all of which have led to adjustments to the catalogue. The main points will be presented here, but without attempting an itemized updating of the catalogue.





Figure 8

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

River Landscape,  
c. 1640–45  
(RD 1136)

Paris, Musée du  
Louvre, Département  
des Arts Graphiques



Figure 9

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Landscape with  
the Church of SS.  
Trinità dei Monti,  
Rome, and a  
Goatherd Resting  
with His Herd in  
the Foreground,  
c. 1632 (RD 1145)

Location Unknown





Figure 10

CLAUDE LORRAIN

Coastal View with a  
Round Tower,  
c. 1637

Los Angeles, J. Paul  
Getty Museum

#### EXHIBITIONS, BOOKS, AND ARTICLES

Since 1968 a dozen major exhibitions of Claude drawings have taken place, a frequency that is understandable because the drawings are handy and the images require no preliminary knowledge. They are immediately attractive and are spontaneously evocative of pure nature, travel, and the dream of Italy. The heritage of Goethe and his *Italiensehnsucht* are still with us. Moreover, many of Claude's drawings are in pristine condition, unaltered from the day they were made, whereas just about all the paintings have to varying degrees changed through the ages, subject to revarnishing, restoration, and natural darkening. In addition, loans from the British Museum, which owns some 500 drawings by Claude (largely from the Payne Knight Bequest of 1824), have been generous.

The first of the noteworthy exhibitions held since the 1968 appearance of the *catalogue raisonné* was the comprehensive *Art of Claude Lorrain* at the Hayward Gallery, London (1969), with a catalogue by Michael Kitson: it included thirty-eight paintings, seventy-four drawings, six etchings, and six pages from the *Liber Veritatis*, as well as works by other artists that provided a broader context. The first pure drawing show took place in 1971 at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, consist-

ing of all sixty of the spectacularly fresh drawings that had been unbound from the Norton Simon album and had never previously been shown. This was accompanied by my book *The Claude Lorrain Album in the Norton Simon Museum of Art*. In contrast to the Wildenstein publication of nine years earlier, in this catalogue the drawings were rearranged into chronological order. In 1973–74 the show toured seven American university and college museums from Princeton to Berkeley,<sup>22</sup> and also traveled to the Kunsthau, Zurich (for which there was no separate catalogue, only a pamphlet). Soon after, Norton Simon sold almost all the drawings individually through Eugene Thaw, Agnew's, and Artemis. In 1977 the British Museum dismembered the *Liber Veritatis*, remounting the sheets individually in order to exhibit all of them on its own premises in 1978, with Michael Kitson's exhibition catalogue *Claude Lorrain: Liber Veritatis* as the authoritative reference on the subject. The Louvre followed in 1978, exhibiting 127 drawings in *Claude Lorrain: Dessins du British Museum*, with a catalogue by John Gere and Paul Hulton. In 1982, to celebrate the three hundredth anniversary of Claude's death, the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, mounted the comprehensive show *Claude Lorrain (1600–1682)*, subsequently

shown at the Grand Palais, Paris, with a catalogue by H. Diane Russell that featured seventy-six drawings, fifty paintings, and all the etchings.

In 1983 the Haus der Kunst in Munich offered *Im Licht von Claude Lorrain*, the only global survey of the vast influence of Claude on painting through the nineteenth century, introduced by twenty-seven paintings and a particularly fine selection of fifty-six drawings, accompanied by a catalogue by this writer. New drawings in the show were a *Coastal View with a Round Tower*, now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (no. 34; Fig. 10),<sup>23</sup> related to LV 27; a *Landscape with Figures* of c. 1640, then with the Galerie Fischer, Lucerne, and currently untraced (no. 36; Fig. 11);<sup>24</sup> and the inscribed, signed, and dated *View of the Villa Sasso* of 1649, then in a private collection (no. 49; Fig. 12).<sup>25</sup> As to the spread of Claude's influence across the art of the various schools, this chapter could be expanded with great profit, particularly with regard to the field of drawing. In 1994 the National Academy of Design in New York showed *European Master Drawings from the Collection of Peter Jay Sharp*, with sixteen sheets by Claude, mostly from the former Norton Simon album. The same year, Humphrey Wine authored the catalogue of the exhibition *Claude: The Poetic Landscape* at the National Gallery, London, which included fifty-three drawings alongside twenty-eight paintings. Ninety-two drawings and eight etchings made up *Claude Lorrain: Drawings from the Collections of the British Museum and the Ashmolean Museum*, shown in 1998 at the British Museum, with an outstanding catalogue by Jon Whiteley (reproductions in black and white). His highly perceptive observations provided a new approach to Claude's nature drawings, in particular those of the so-called Tivoli book.

In 1998 the National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, mounted a well-balanced exhibition, *Claude Lorrain and the Ideal Landscape*, with precursors and followers presented together with forty-four of Claude's finest paintings and twenty-five drawings; I wrote an essay for the accompanying catalogue. *Claude Lorrain, the Painter as Draftsman: Drawings from the British Museum*, with



eighty drawings and thirteen paintings, was shown in 2006 at the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco and the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute at Williamstown, MA, with the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, as an added venue. The accompanying book of the same title by Richard Rand is a most rewarding account of Claude's drawings, even though it centers mainly on the holdings of the British Museum. The material is organized in five chapters around appropriate themes, such as trees, shade, ruins in the landscape, and figure subjects. It analyzes selected items with new insights, yet still encompasses Claude's entire output of drawings. In 2011–12 the Louvre and

Figure 11 (top)

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Landscape with  
Figures, c. 1640

Location Unknown

Figure 12 (bottom)

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

View of the Villa  
Sasso, 1649

Location Unknown



Figure 13

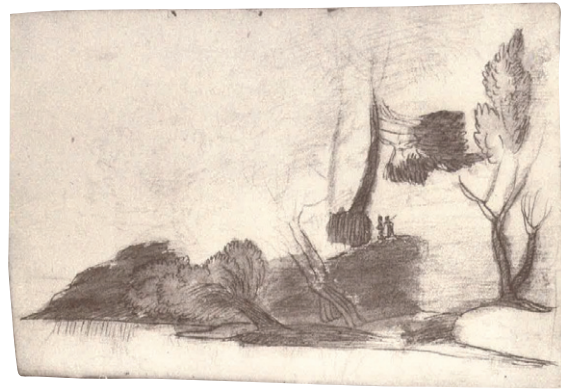
CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Landscape, mid-  
1630s

Stockholm,  
Nationalmuseum

the Teylers Museum in Haarlem mounted *Claude Gellée, dit le Lorrain: Le Dessinateur face à la nature*, with about eighty drawings and eleven paintings, its important and extremely thorough catalogue written by Carel van Tuyll van Serooskerken and Michiel C. Plomp. The same years the Städel Museum in Frankfurt-am-Main and the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford presented *Claude Lorrain: The Enchanted Landscape*, with a somewhat unbalanced selection of sixteen paintings, sixty drawings, and the entire corpus of fifty-six etchings, accompanied by a noteworthy catalogue by Martin Sonnabend, Jon Whiteley, and Christian Rümelin. In 2017 the Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg, showed *Das Licht der Campagna*, with eighty-nine drawings from the British Museum (including twenty-three pages from the *Liber Veritatis*), grouped in nine thematic sections, the lavish catalogue with good entries by Andreas Stolzenburg, David Klemm, and others.

All of this amounts to an unparalleled exposure to the public of Claude's drawings, besides several exhibitions that focused primarily on his paintings. In addition to the increasingly opulent exhibition catalogues, several books of different types dealt with Claude's drawings. Sabine Cotté's *L'Univers de Claude Lorrain* (Paris, 1970) is almost exclusively limited to nature drawings. Helen Langdon's monograph *Claude Lorrain* (Oxford, 1989) is the only modern overall account of Claude's art, with a sensitive, well-balanced text in which drawings are given their due. *Claude Lorrain: Gemälde und Zeichnungen* (Munich, 1996) is a beautiful, large picture book with fifty drawings and thirty-three paintings; its introductory essay in German by Werner Schade is a most profound, scholarly, lyrical, and personal text that offers an eye-opening perception of Claude's art unlike any other. *Claude Lorrain: Das Leuchten der Landschaft* (Munich, 1999) is another picture book, with forty-four drawings, twenty-three paintings, and an appropriate text by Günther Bergmann. To be singled out from the steady flow of scholarly articles on Claude by many authors are the study by Hubert Damisch on Claude's practice of perspective<sup>26</sup> and Michael Kitson's *Studies on Claude and Poussin* (London, 2000), in which are reprinted sixteen masterly articles written by him between 1960 to 1995.



#### NEW DRAWINGS

Since 1968 about sixty previously unknown individual drawings by Claude have come to light, and as many paintings.<sup>27</sup> Only the main additions will be recorded here. Besides those, a small album of sketches appeared in 1982 from an unnamed English collection, which is now in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.<sup>28</sup> Published in 1984 by Per Bjurström, it contains some forty (originally more) slight sketches of landscapes, trees, figures, and animals in various techniques, unconnected with paintings and done from the mid-1630s over two decades (e.g., Figs. 13–14).<sup>29</sup> These are the only sketches to have survived together as a group. In addition, up to five dozen comparable working sketches have been found on



Figure 14

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Study of a Roman  
Soldier, mid-1630s

Stockholm,  
Nationalmuseum



scattered sheets and on versos of known drawings. Numerous untenable attributions, some treacherously close to Claude, are here ignored.

My own contributions began two years after the appearance of the monograph, with the publication in 1970 of a drawing of *Three Men in a Boat*, then in the collection of Agnes Mongan (1905–1996), who in 1984 gave it to the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, MA (Fig. 15).<sup>30</sup> Nine years later, in 1973, I published a group of nine wonderful drawings, then privately owned, which had been removed in 1957 from the Wildenstein album.<sup>31</sup> They include the boldly contrasted *Wooded Landscape* of 1640–42, formerly in the collection of John R. Gaines (1928–2005), which reappeared on the art market in 2013 and is now in a private collection, New York (front cover);<sup>32</sup> the *Wooded Landscape with a Classical Temple* of c. 1645, from the Peter Jay Sharp collection, now in the Clark Art Institute (Fig. 16);<sup>33</sup> the compact, vibrant *Wall of Foliage* in chalk and brown wash, whose whereabouts are unknown (Fig. 17);<sup>34</sup> and its very opposite, the infinite view of the oblong *Panorama from the Villa Sasso* of c. 1649–55, which was acquired by the Art Institute of Chicago in 1980 as part of the Helen Regenstien Collection (Fig. 18).<sup>35</sup> If I had to single out just one sheet, for me this is easily Claude's most moving drawing.

In 1974 I published five fine sheets of different types that had come to light from an unnamed, apparently Spanish source:<sup>36</sup> an upright *Wall of Trees* of 1635–37, which since 1984 has been in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (Fig. 19);<sup>37</sup> a compositional drawing with a round tower, relat-



Figure 15 (above left)

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Three Men in a  
Boat, c. 1635–40

Cambridge, MA,  
Harvard Art  
Museums/Fogg  
Museum



Figure 16 (above top)

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Wooded  
Landscape with a  
Classical Temple,  
c. 1645

Williamstown,  
Clark Art Institute

Figure 17 (above bottom)

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Wall of Foliage,  
c. 1650–52

Location Unknown





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*Figure 18*

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Panorama from  
the Villa Sasso,  
c. 1649–55

*Chicago, Art  
Institute of Chicago*







Figure 19

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Wall of Trees,  
c. 1635–37

Stockholm,  
Nationalmuseum



Figure 20

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Coastal View with  
a Round Tower,  
c. 1635–37

Location Unknown



Figure 21

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Open Coastal  
View with the  
Port of Santa  
Marinella,  
c. 1638

Location Unknown



ed to LV 27, whose whereabouts are unknown (Fig. 20);<sup>38</sup> an *Open Coastal View with the Port of Santa Marinella* of c. 1638, which appeared on the art market in 1990 and whose current whereabouts are unknown (Fig. 21);<sup>39</sup> a monumental *View of the Aniene Valley near Tivoli with an Archway* of c. 1642, sold earlier this year from the Howard and Saretta Barnet collection, New York, and now in a private collection, New York (Fig. 22);<sup>40</sup> and an untraced preparatory drawing, subsequently on the art market in 1998 (Fig. 23)<sup>41</sup> for the *Landscape with David at the Cave of Adullam* of 1658 (LV 145).<sup>42</sup> This was followed by an article of 1979 that introduced several new drawings,<sup>43</sup> including an otherwise unrelated sheet on blue paper with a huge tree of c. 1645, then with P. & D. Colnaghi, London, and now in the collection of Jean Bonna, Geneva (Fig. 24);<sup>44</sup> the masterly sheet with two figures, now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC (Fig. 25),<sup>45</sup> for LV 112; and a large preparatory study, then on loan to the Fogg Museum from the collection of Prof. and Mrs. George C. Homans, and subsequently on the art market in 2010 (Fig. 26),<sup>46</sup> for the *Landscape with the Landing of Aeneas in Pallanteum* of 1673 (LV 185). Meanwhile, in connection with the latter painting, in 1970 An Zwollo published in these pages an additional drawing of figures from 1671, which had turned up in a Dutch private collection and is now in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam (Fig. 27).<sup>47</sup> Of the ten other previously known preparatory studies for this painting, three of them were acquired the year after my drawings monograph by the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, all having earlier been in the Camuccini collection—nos. RD 1077 (Fig. 28),<sup>48</sup> RD 1080 (Fig. 29),<sup>49</sup> which is probably the work of a copyist after a variant of RD 1081, and RD 1081 (Fig. 30).<sup>50</sup>

From 1985 dates my study in these pages on the Odescalchi drawing collection,<sup>51</sup> and in an article from the following year,<sup>52</sup> I introduced an early double-sided pen drawing with a *Landscape with the Rest on the Flight into Egypt* on the recto (Fig. 31) and the *Arch of Titus and the Campo Vaccino* on the verso, which was then in a private collection and is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,





*Figure 22 (above)*

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

View of the  
Aniene Valley near  
Tivoli with an  
Archway, c. 1642

*New York, Private  
Collection*

*Figure 23 (right)*

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Classical Landscape,  
c. 1657

*Location Unknown*







Figure 24 (above)  
 CLAUDE  
 LORRAIN  
 Landscape with a  
 Large Tree, c. 1645  
 Geneva, Collection  
 of Jean Bonna



Figure 26 (left)  
 CLAUDE  
 LORRAIN  
 Landscape with the  
 Landing of Aeneas  
 in Pallanteum,  
 c. 1672  
 Location Unknown

Figure 25 (above)  
 CLAUDE  
 LORRAIN  
 Two Figures,  
 c. 1647  
 Washington, DC,  
 National Gallery  
 of Art



Figure 27 (left)  
 CLAUDE  
 LORRAIN  
 Study of Figures  
 for the Landing  
 of Aeneas in  
 Pallanteum, 1671  
 Amsterdam,  
 Rijksprentenkabinet





*Figure 28 (above)*

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Landscape with the  
Landing of Aeneas  
in Pallanteum,  
c. 1672 (RD 1077)

Stockholm,  
Nationalmuseum

*Figure 29 (upper  
right)*

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN (copy  
after)

Landscape with the  
Landing of Aeneas  
in Pallanteum  
(RD 1080)

Stockholm,  
Nationalmuseum

*Figure 30 (lower  
right)*

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Landscape with the  
Landing of Aeneas  
in Pallanteum,  
c. 1672 (RD 1081)

Stockholm,  
Nationalmuseum







Figure 31

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Landscape with the  
Rest on the Flight  
into Egypt, c. 1635

New York,  
Metropolitan  
Museum of Art

New York.<sup>53</sup> In addition, the article brought to light several inscriptions, and two rare, previously unknown letters from Claude to Prince Colonna. An article of 1993 in *Drawing* illustrated another extraordinary wall of foliage of the early 1630s on blue paper (for which the then private owners conceded only a black-and-white photocopy; Fig. 32),<sup>54</sup> an upright pen drawing of a huge tree of c. 1660, then in the Puech collection and now in the Musée Calvet, Avignon (Fig. 33),<sup>55</sup> and a preliminary drawing for a *Triumph of David* of c. 1658, now in the Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum (Fig. 34).<sup>56</sup> In 1990 four more drawings surfaced and were described in these pages,<sup>57</sup> including a wide view of a *Landscape in Latium with Farm Laborers*

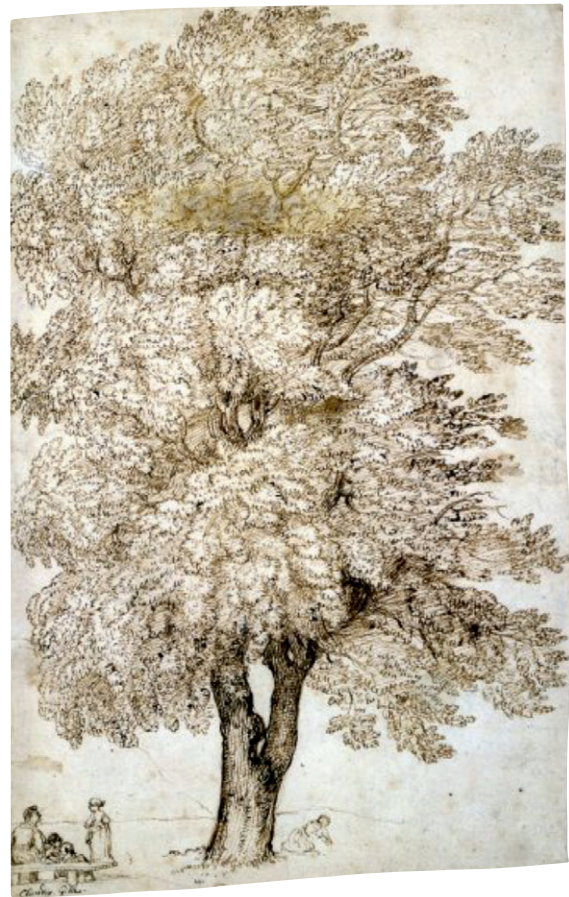


Figure 32

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Wall of Foliage,  
early 1630s

Location Unknown

Figure 33 (above)

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Study of a Tree,  
c. 1660

Avignon, Musée  
Calvet







Figure 34

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Landscape with the  
Triumph of David,  
c. 1658

Cambridge, MA,  
Harvard Art  
Museums/Fogg  
Museum

from c. 1660–63, then in a New York private collection and now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (Fig. 35),<sup>58</sup> and, more importantly, the magnificent, elaborate sheet of *Queen Esther Approaching the Palace of Ahasuerus* of 1658, bought

in 1997 by the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 36).<sup>59</sup> This sheet was almost certainly a presentation drawing submitted to François Bosquet (1605–1676), Bishop of Montpellier, who commissioned the painting of the same subject, which

Figure 35

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Landscape in  
Latium with  
Farm Laborers,  
c. 1660–63

Los Angeles, J. Paul  
Getty Museum







Figure 36

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Queen Esther  
Approaching  
the Palace of  
Ahasuerus, 1658

New York,  
Metropolitan  
Museum of Art



Figure 37

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Queen Esther  
Approaching  
the Palace of  
Ahasuerus, 1658  
(LV 146)

London, British  
Museum



was later severely damaged by fire. The drawing can be ranked as Claude's supreme compositional sheet. Comparison with the final painting—which Claude himself designated as his masterpiece, and of which only a fragment survives at Holkham Hall, Norfolk,<sup>60</sup> though the whole is recorded in LV 146 (Fig. 37),<sup>61</sup>—makes it clear that he altered the composition of the drawing in the final work. The comparison makes one understand why he did so, perhaps on Bosquet's suggestion. Among the later discoveries is a pen drawing of a *Wall of Rocks with Shrubbery* from the late 1650s, which was found in the Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt (Fig. 38), and published in 2000.<sup>62</sup>

Studies by other scholars began with Michael Kitson's most constructive 1970 review of the oeuvre catalogue, in which he introduced five additional sheets,<sup>63</sup> in particular a *Landscape with Ruins, Trees, and Figures* of the early 1650s, then in an English private collection and now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC (Fig. 39).<sup>64</sup> Among the four new sheets included in Pierre Rosenberg's 1971 review is a fine



Figure 38

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Wall of Rocks  
with Shrubbery,  
late 1650s

Darmstadt,  
Hessisches  
Landesmuseum





Figure 39 (above)

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Landscape with  
Ruins, Trees,  
and Figures,  
early 1650s

Washington, DC,  
National Gallery  
of Art

Figure 40 (left)

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Study of Trees,  
mid-1630s

Paris, Musée du  
Louvre, Département  
des Arts Graphiques



Figure 41 (right)

JOHN  
CONSTABLE  
(after CLAUDE  
LORRAIN)

Study of Trees,

New Haven, Yale  
Center for British  
Art

upright sheet with trees of the mid-1630s in the Rothschild Collection in the Louvre, Paris (Fig. 40).<sup>65</sup> I had actually published in 1969 in these pages a copy of that work by John Constable (1776–1837), then in the collection of Paul Mellon (1907–1999) and now in the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven (Fig. 41).<sup>66</sup> In 1971 Ann Sutherland Harris published a figure drawing by Claude of *David and Goliath* in the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Art, Paris (Fig. 42),<sup>67</sup> a copy he had made in Rome in 1661 after a painting by Pietro da Cortona (1596–1669), now in the Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome.<sup>68</sup> Werner Schade discovered and published in 1990 an elaborate figure drawing of the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* of c. 1663 in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin







(Fig. 43).<sup>69</sup> In the London exhibition of 1998, Jon Whiteley reproduced the pair of unique octagonal presentation drawings submitted in 1638 to Pope Urban VIII (reg. 1623–44), privately sold in 2008 from the collection of the Duke of Marlborough and now in a private collection, New York.<sup>70</sup> One of them (Fig. 44) prepares the oil on copper *Coast Scene with the Port of Santa Marinella*, now in the Petit Palais, Paris,<sup>71</sup> recorded in the *Liber Veritatis* (LV 46; Fig. 45);<sup>72</sup> its pendant, *Coastal Scene with a View of Civitavecchia* (Fig. 46), was instead replaced by the oil on copper of a *Pastoral Landscape with a View of Castel Gandolfo*, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge,<sup>73</sup> a painting also recorded in the *Liber Veritatis* (LV 35; Fig. 47).<sup>74</sup> A fascinating and elaborate preparatory drawing of 1666 for an unrealized painting with the unique theme of the flight of King David was discovered in the Mimara Museum, Zagreb (Fig. 48), and published in 2011 by Slaven Perović.<sup>75</sup> Carel van Tuyll identified among the anonymous sheets in the Louvre a *St. Jerome in a Landscape* of c. 1650 (Fig. 49), shown in his Paris–Haarlem exhibition of 2011–12.<sup>76</sup>

Other drawings have come to light in auctions. Sold in 1998, an elaborate sheet with huge

Figure 42

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN (after  
PIETRO DA  
CORTONA)

David and Goliath,  
1661

Paris, École  
Nationale Supérieure  
des Beaux-Arts



Figure 43

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Landscape with the  
Rest on the Flight  
into Egypt, c. 1663

Berlin,  
Kupferstichkabinett





Figure 44 (top)

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Coast Scene with  
the Port of Santa  
Marinella, 1638

New York, Private  
Collection

Figure 46 (bottom)

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Coast Scene  
with a View of  
Civitavecchia,  
1638

New York, Private  
Collection

Figure 45 (top)

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Coast Scene with  
the Port of Santa  
Marinella, 1638  
(LV 46)

London, British  
Museum

Figure 47 (bottom)

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Pastoral Landscape  
with a View of  
Castel Gandolfo,  
1638 (LV 35)

London, British  
Museum





Figure 48

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Landscape with  
the Flight of King  
David, 1666

Zagreb, Mimara  
Museum

Figure 49

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

St. Jerome in a  
Landscape, c. 1650

Paris, Musée du  
Louvre, Département  
des Arts Graphiques





trees, signed on the verso and dated 1648, is an independent pictorial work, now in a private collection, New York (Fig. 50).<sup>77</sup> It appeared a year later with W. M. Brady & Co., together with a sheet from Claude's early sketchbook of c. 1630, *River Landscape with Figures Loading Timber onto a Barge*, now in a private collection, Chicago (Fig. 51).<sup>78</sup> A stunning upright wash drawing on blue paper from the late 1630s, showing rocks at Tivoli



Figure 50

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Landscape with  
Large Trees, 1648

New York, Private  
Collection

Figure 52

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Rocky Landscape  
at Tivoli, late  
1630s

Lausanne, Fondation  
Jan Krugier

that fill the whole page, emerged in a sale in 1998, from which it was purchased by the late Jan Krugier (1928–2008) and in whose foundation in Lausanne it remains (Fig. 52).<sup>79</sup> A drawing of *Asclepius Reviving Hippolytus* appeared at Phillips in 1997 and is now in a private collection (Fig. 53),<sup>80</sup> the figures corresponding in a simpler setup to the British Museum drawing of the early 1660s (RD 904; Fig. 54),<sup>81</sup> which prepared an unexecuted painting.

An additional preparatory drawing for Claude's last picture of 1682, *Landscape with Ascanius Shooting the Stag of Sylvia* in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Fig. 55),<sup>82</sup> was sold in Paris at Piasa in 2003 (Fig. 56);<sup>83</sup> it reveals once more how involved the artist's elaboration of the final composition was across several stages. In 2012



Figure 51

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

River Landscape  
with Figures  
Loading Timber  
onto a Barge,  
c. 1630

Chicago, Private  
Collection





there appeared a stunning pen sketch of a wide-open landscape from c. 1635 with a farmhouse on a hill brought out in deep brown wash, now in a private collection (Fig. 57).<sup>84</sup> The few publicly available prices show, not surprisingly, a steady rise in the last four decades.<sup>85</sup>

In short, many privately owned sheets have changed hands, and many have entered museums. Two dozen of the finest works have found their way into leading American museums, but most others are owned by undisclosed private collections. The most notable relocation was the acquisition in 2007 by the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, of the group of sixteen Claude drawings owned by the heirs of Peter Jay Sharp (1930–1992), fourteen of which came from the Wildenstein–Norton Simon album. (Half of the contents of the album were sold in the 1980s by Norton Simon to Agnew’s, from whom the group was acquired by Sharp.) With this bold move, for a reported sum between three and four million dollars, the Clark Art Institute instantly came to own the finest group of Claude drawings in America, exhibiting them on the premises in 2008 (e.g., see Fig. 16 above).

## CONCLUSION

Much has been gained in terms of new material: valuable technical and other detailed observations expressed in many catalogue entries; the recovery of verso sketches and annotations with the unframing and remounting of drawings;<sup>86</sup> the precise identification of a few sites represented in the nature drawings;<sup>87</sup> and a deeper understanding of the complex genesis of certain late paintings. No fundamental revision of the oeuvre catalogue is implied by these developments. However, a recurrent question concerns the exact genesis, status, and function of the nature drawings, including some ninety studies of trees. Even the seemingly most spontaneous views, some inscribed *dal naturale*, are always governed by an inherent sense of composition and framing.<sup>88</sup> Were they done on the spot, with chalk, pen, and wash, as Joachim von Sandrart (1606–1688) noted? I fear that many art historians (myself included) have little or no



Figure 53

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Asclepius Reviving  
Hippolytus, early  
1660s

Private Collection

experience of drawing in nature. Are we competent judges? While Claude would normally add a ruled framing line in pen around most drawings, we can assume that the rather rare, shaky, freehand framing lines around some nature drawings were done out of doors.<sup>89</sup> Many indications lead us now to assume that quite a few sheets were begun *en plein air* but completed in the studio, particularly with the addition of foreground motifs, figures, and animals, as well as additional wash.<sup>90</sup> A few such sheets were Claude’s own repetitions, possibly done as gifts or for sale. The importance of the tiny figures in all the nature drawings as points of reference for scale has emerged more clearly.

Certainly further drawings will be discovered and published, but in the meantime there is a great



Figure 54

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Asclepius Reviving  
Hippolytus, early  
1660s (RD 904)

London, British  
Museum



need for facsimiles and good reproductions of the drawings that are already known. A full-color edition of the *Liber Veritatis* would be very valuable, for example. Also of great interest would be an exhibition assembling Claude's small sketches of landscape parts, compositions, figures, and animals, amounting to well over a hundred, which would reveal intimate moments of the artist at work, their quickness contrasting with the highly finished nature of most of his drawings. One would also welcome an exhibition selected from the 650 reproductive prints made after his drawings between 1775 and 1850 and the fifty large in-folio prints made between 1740 and 1805 after major paintings. This would shed light on the vast impact of Claude's work on European art of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

*Marcel Roethlisberger, now retired, was formerly a professor of art history at the University of Geneva.*



Figure 55

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Landscape with  
Ascanius Shooting  
the Stag of Sylvia,  
1682 (RP 222)

Oxford, Ashmolean  
Museum



Figure 56

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Landscape with  
Ascanius Shooting  
the Stag of Sylvia,  
c. 1680

Location Unknown



# NOTES

1. See Marcel Roethlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Drawings*, 2 vols., Berkeley, 1968.
2. See H. J. Scholten, *Musée Teyler à Haarlem: Catalogue raisonné des dessins des écoles française et hollandaise*, Haarlem, 1904.
3. See Louis Demonts, *Drawings by Claude Gellée, Called Le Lorrain*, Paris, 1923.
4. See Arthur M. Hind, *British Museum, Catalogue of the Drawings of Claude Lorrain Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings, with Special Reference to an Exhibition Including Other Masters of Classical Landscape*, London, 1926; and idem, *The Drawings of Claude Lorrain*, London, 1925.
5. See Eckhart Knab, "Die Zeichnungen Claude Lorrains in der Albertina," *Alte und Neue Kunst*, 2, 1953, pp. 121–60.
6. See Louis Demonts, *Quarante dessins de Claude Gellée*, Paris, 1920, 40 plates; Charles Martine, *Claude Gellée*, Paris, 1922, 52 plates; Kurt Gerstenberg, *Claude Lorrain: Tuschzeichnungen aus dem Berliner Kabinett und aus dem Britischen Museum in London*, Munich, 1925, 13 plates; and *Claude Lorrain: Le Cabinet de Dessins*, Paris, 1978, 24 plates.
7. Fig. 1: Cambridge, MA, Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, inv. no. 1996.133 (The Kate, Maurice, and Melvin R. Seiden Special Purchase Fund in honor of Emily Rauh Pulitzer). Brush and brown and gray ink, with brown and gray wash, and opaque white on blue paper; 194 x 270 mm; see RD 721, repr.; and [www.harvardartmuseums.org/art/294018](http://www.harvardartmuseums.org/art/294018). Fig. 2: Black chalk, pen and brown ink, with brown, gray, and gray-brown wash; 191 x 270 mm; see RD 1102, repr.
8. See, for example, Patrizia Cavazzini, ed., *Agostino Tassi (1578–1644): Un paesaggista tra immaginario e realtà*, exh. cat., Rome, Palazzo di Venezia, 2008.
9. See, for example, Anne Charlotte Steland, *Herman van Swanevelt (um 1603–1655): Gemälde und Zeichnungen*, 2 vols., Petersberg, 2010.
10. Pen and brown ink, with brown and gray wash and opaque white; 168 x 254 mm; sale, Paris, Beaussant-Lefèvre, 10 June 2009, lot 37, repr. (in color).
11. Besides those listed in the main text here, I now have doubts about RD 40a, RD 40b, and RD 282a, as well as the *Landscape with the Temptation of Christ*, in the Horvitz Collection, Boston (pen and black and brown ink, with gray and brown wash, over black chalk, on blue paper; 281 x 192 mm), which has been published as an autograph replica (see Richard Rand, *Claude Lorrain, the Painter as Draftsman: Drawings from the British Museum*, exh. cat., San Francisco, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, and Williamstown, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2006–7, fig. 135) and which had also initially convinced me. The original is in the British Museum (inv. no. Oo,8.257; pen and brown ink, with gray-brown wash and opaque white, on blue paper; 279 x 188 mm); see [www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online) (describing the Horvitz version as "an early copy or imitation"). Another



Figure 57

CLAUDE  
LORRAIN

Open Landscape  
with Farmhouse  
on a Hill, c. 1635

Private Collection

copy of this composition, catalogued as possibly by Angeluccio (fl. 1645–50) or possibly after Claude, is in the Art Institute of Chicago (inv. no. 1927.2534; pen and brown ink, with brown wash and opaque white [oxidized], over black chalk, on blue paper; 290 x 200 mm); see [www.artic.edu/aic/collections/artwork/43085](http://www.artic.edu/aic/collections/artwork/43085).

12. Inv. no. EBA 947. Pen and brown ink, with brown wash; 92 x 132 mm; see [www.ensba.fr/ow2/catzarts](http://www.ensba.fr/ow2/catzarts).
13. Black chalk, with pen and brown ink and brown wash; 104 x 79 mm; sale, Paris, Christie's, 25 March 2015, lot 50, repr. (in color).
14. Inv. no. 1957,1214.6. Pen and brown ink, with brown wash and opaque white, strengthened with gum, over black chalk, on blue paper; full sheet: 265 x 323 mm; image: 146 x 120 mm (oval); see Hamburg 2017, no. 90 (as anonymous, after the print of 1675 by R. Collin, after a drawing by Joachim van Sandrart [1606–1688]), repr. (in color); and [www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online) (as Claude[?]).
15. Black chalk; 133 x 194 mm; sale, London, Sotheby's, 8 July 2009, lot 55, repr. (in color); see [www.sothebys.com/it/auctions/ecatalogue/2009/old-master-drawings-109640/lot.55](http://www.sothebys.com/it/auctions/ecatalogue/2009/old-master-drawings-109640/lot.55).
16. See Note 50 below.
17. Both were included in a sale, New York, Sotheby's, 28 January 1998, lot 33 (as attributed to Claude), both repr.
18. See Michael Kitson, "Review of *Claude Lorrain: The Drawings* by Marcel Röthlisberger," *Master Drawings*, 8, no. 4, 1970, pp. 402–9.
19. Inv. no. RF 11976. Pen and brown ink, with brown wash, on pink-toned paper; 277 x 415 mm; see <http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr>.
20. Pen and two shades of brown ink, over black chalk; 192 x 248 mm; sale, London, Christie's, 5 July 2016, lot 45, repr. (in color).
21. See Marcel Roethlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Wildenstein Album*, Paris, 1962. The book, which also appeared in a French edition, is a *tour de force* of printing based on black-and-white films and oral directions.



22. This tour had a simpler catalogue of the same title sponsored by the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, with 45 pp. of text and a few plates.
23. Inv. no. 82.GA.80. Pen and brown ink, with reddish-brown wash and opaque white, on blue paper; 238 x 338 mm; see [www.getty.edu/art/collection](http://www.getty.edu/art/collection).
24. Pen and brown ink, with brown wash; 185 x 260 mm; see Marcel Roethlisberger et al., *Im Licht von Claude Lorrain*, exh. cat., Munich, Haus der Kunst, 1983, no. 36, repr.
25. Pen and brown ink, with brown wash; 256 x 385 mm; see Marcel Roethlisberger, "A New Drawing by Claude and the Problem of the Modification of Nature," *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Federico Zeri*, Milan, 1984, pp. 623–25, fig. 612. The drawing is inscribed on the verso, in brown ink, *veduta dela villa del Sasso / lano 1649 Claudio Gille / Roma*.
26. See Hubert Damisch, "Claude: A Problem in Perspective," in *Claude Lorrain: A Symposium*, National Gallery of Art, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, *Studies in the History of Art*, 14, Washington, DC, 1984, pp. 29–44, the only new methodological approach, based on the too scant indications on the subject in Baldinucci's biography of Claude.
27. On the paintings, see my reassessment after fifty years, "Claude Lorrain Revisited," *Artibus et Historiae*, 63, 2011, pp. 102–18.
28. Inv. no. NMH 268/1982; see Per Bjurström, *Claude Lorrain Sketchbook*, Stockholm, 1984; and <http://collection.nationalmuseum.se>.
29. Inv. nos. NMH 268/1982:10 (black chalk, with pen and black ink; 185 x 129 mm) and NMH 268/1982:5 (pen and black ink; 185 x 129 mm); see Bjurström 1984, no. 1840, both repr.; and <http://collection.nationalmuseum.se>.
30. Inv. no. 1984.796. Pen and brown ink, with brown wash and graphite, over black chalk; 129 x 212 mm; see Marcel Roethlisberger, "Claude Lorrain in the National Gallery of Art," *National Gallery of Art: Report and Studies in the History of Art*, 1969, 1970, pp. 35–57 (esp. p. 41), fig. 9.
31. See Marcel Roethlisberger, "Neun Zeichnungen von Claude Lorrain," *Du*, July 1973, pp. 508–17. The drawings, mostly unconnected with paintings, were sold individually after 1971.
32. Pen and brown ink, with brown wash and opaque white, on blue paper; 225 x 301 mm; sale, New York, Christie's, 31 January 2013, lot 122, repr. (in color); see Roethlisberger 1973, p. 512, repr.
33. Inv. no. 2007.5.7. Black chalk, with brown wash and some pen and brown ink; 205 x 285 mm; see *ibid.*, p. 514, repr.; and [www.clarkart.edu/Collection/9765](http://www.clarkart.edu/Collection/9765).
34. Black chalk, with brown wash; 224 x 319 mm; see Roethlisberger 1973, p. 515, repr.
35. Inv. no. 1980.190 (Helen Regenstein Collection). Pen and brown ink, with brown wash, opaque white, and traces of white chalk, over black chalk and graphite; 162 x 402 mm; see Marcel Roethlisberger, "A Panoramic View by Claude Lorrain," *The Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies*, 11, 1985, pp. 102–15; and [www.artic.edu/aic/collections](http://www.artic.edu/aic/collections).
36. See Marcel Roethlisberger, "Dessins inédits de Claude Lorrain," *L'Oeil*, 226, 1974, pp. 30–37. The first four then passed through the annual auction at Kornfeld, Bern, 12 June 1974, lots 311, 57, 64, and 65, the provenance undisclosed.
37. Inv. no. NMH 87/1984. Pen and brown ink, with brown wash, over black chalk; 316 x 224 mm; see Roethlisberger 1974, no. 1, repr.; and <http://collection.nationalmuseum.se>.
38. Pen and brown ink, with gray-brown wash, over black chalk; 155 x 220 mm; see Roethlisberger 1974, no. 7, repr.
39. Pen and brown ink, with brown and gray wash; 218 x 329 mm; sale, London, Sotheby's, 2 July 1990, lot 99, repr.; see Roethlisberger 1974, no. 6, repr. The sheet is set within added margins and is inscribed at lower center, in brown ink, *C. L Fasa 2.20*.
40. Pen and brown ink, with brown and pale pink wash; 234 x 350 mm; sale, New York, Sotheby's, 31 January 2018, lot 2 (sold for \$1,635,000) repr. (in color); see *ibid.*, no. 2, repr.; and *idem*, "Darstellungen einer tiburtinischen Ruine," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 48, no. 3, 1985, pp. 300–318, fig. 1. Inscribed on the verso, in brown ink, *Claudio Gellee IV / Roma / pasato tivoli / un mile [per] strada / de Sobiacha -;* the sheet set within added margins, inscribed at lower center, with the artist's initials, in brown ink, *C.L.*
41. Pen and brown ink, with brown wash, over black chalk; 95 x 185 mm; sale, New York, Sotheby's, 28 January 1998, lot 45, repr. (in color); see Roethlisberger 1974, no. 9, repr.
42. The painting is in the National Gallery, London (inv. no. NG6; oil on canvas; 111.4 x 186.5 cm); see RP 145; and [www.nationalgallery.org.uk](http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk).
43. See Marcel Roethlisberger, "Additional Works by Goffredo Wals and Claude Lorrain," *Burlington Magazine*, 121, no. 910, 1979, pp. 20–28.
44. Pen and brown ink, with brown wash and opaque white, on blue paper; 211 x 311 mm; see *ibid.*, fig. 36; and Stijn Alsteens et al., *Raphael to Renoir: Drawings from the Collection of Jean Bonna*, exh. cat., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2009, no. 58, repr. (in color).
45. Inv. no. 1978.108.1. Black chalk, pen and brown ink, with brown wash and opaque white, on paper toned with apricot-colored wash; 166 x 133 mm; see [www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.56900](http://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.56900).
46. Pen and brown ink, with brown and gray wash, over black chalk and traces of graphite; 238 x 274 mm; sale, New York, Christie's, 27 January 2010, lot 137, repr. (in color). Signed, dated, and inscribed at lower right, in brown ink, *Claudio I.v fecit / Roma 1673 / libro ottavo di virgilio* and



- l'arrivo d'Anea / a palante al monte / è a vantino libro / otto di virgilio.*
47. Inv. no. RP-T-1970-7. Pen and brown ink, with brown and gray wash and opaque white, over black chalk; 130 x 194 mm; see An Zwollo, "An Additional Study for Claude's Picture *The Arrival of Aeneas at Pallantium*," *Master Drawings*, 8, no. 3, 1970, pp. 272–75; and [www.rijksmuseum.nl](http://www.rijksmuseum.nl). Signed, dated, and inscribed by the artist, in brown ink: at lower left, *Claudio fecit / Roma 1671*; outside framing line, at lower left, *euere*; at lower center, *palante figlio del Re. Euandro parla a Anea and Anea mostra un ramo d'oliva per Signo / di pace*; and with further autograph annotations.
  48. Inv. no. NMH 360/1969. Pen and brown ink, with brown wash; 186 x 248 mm; see Per Bjurström, *French Drawings, I: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Stockholm, 1976, no. 541, repr.; and <http://collection.nationalmuseum.se/eMP/eMuseumPlus>.
  49. Inv. no. NMH 358/1969. Pen and brown ink, with brown and gray wash; 261 x 330 mm; see Bjurström 1976, no. 542 (as Claude), repr.; and <http://collection.nationalmuseum.se/eMP/eMuseumPlus> (as Claude).
  50. Inv. no. NMH 361/1969. Pen and brown ink, with brown and gray wash, over black chalk; 262 x 312 mm; see Bjurström 1976, no. 543, repr.; and <http://collection.nationalmuseum.se/eMP/eMuseumPlus>.
  51. See Marcel Roethlisberger, "The Drawing Collection of Prince Livio Odescalchi," *Master Drawings*, 23–24, no. 1, 1985–86, pp. 5–30.
  52. See idem, "Claude Lorrain: Nouveaux dessins, tableaux et lettres," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français, Année 1986*, 1988, pp. 33–55.
  53. Inv. no. 2006.393.27a–b (anonymous gift). Pen and brown ink, over traces of black chalk; 202 x 262 mm; see *ibid.*, figs. 2a–b; and [www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/371931](http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/371931). Inscribed at lower right, in a later hand, in brown ink, *Claudio*.
  54. Brush and brown wash, with opaque white, on blue paper; 262 x 390 mm; see Marcel Roethlisberger, "Newly Discovered Drawings by Claude Lorrain," *Drawing*, 15, no. 1, 1993, pp. 7–10, fig. 1.
  55. Inv. no. 996.7.369 (Donation Puech). Pen and brown ink; 390 x 245 mm; see *ibid.*, fig. 3; and [www.musee-calvet.org/beaux-arts-archeologie/fr](http://www.musee-calvet.org/beaux-arts-archeologie/fr).
  56. Inv. no. 1993.75. Pen and brown ink, with brown wash and opaque white, over black chalk; 228 x 346 mm; see Roethlisberger 1993, fig. 6; idem, "Vente de Johan de Witt, Dordrecht 1969: Quarante-cinq dessins de Claude Lorrain," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 128, 1996, pp. 277–88, fig. 6; and [www.harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/299972](http://www.harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/299972). Signed at lower left, in brown ink, *claudi lor...*; and inscribed at lower right, in brown ink, *quando il re David andare / in gerusalem la... / in s...*
  57. See Marcel G. Röthlisberger, "More Drawings by Claude Lorrain," *Master Drawings*, 28, no. 4, 1990, pp. 409–25.
  58. Inv. no. 91.GG.70. Pen and brown ink, with brown wash, over black chalk; 224 x 362 mm; see [www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/365](http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/365).
  59. Inv. no. 1997.156. Pen and brown ink and opaque white, with brown wash, over black chalk; 300 x 444 mm; see *ibid.*, fig. 4. A British appeal to prevent the exportation of the *Esther* drawing for £718,000 failed.
  60. Oil on canvas; 183 x 147 cm; see RP 347.
  61. London, British Museum, inv. no. 1957,1214.152. Pen and brown ink, with brown and gray-brown wash and opaque white, on blue paper; 192 x 251 mm; see [www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online).
  62. Inv. no. HZZ 10421. Pen and brown ink, with brown wash; 304 x 212 mm; see my entry in Peter Märker and Mechthild Haas, eds., *Neu in der Sammlung: Zeichnung und Druckgraphik von 1500 bis 2000*, exh. cat., Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum, 2000, no. 16 (formerly as Rosa?), repr. (in color).
  63. See Kitson 1970, pp. 402–9. Two of the new drawings are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London: a sheet from the early sketchbook (inv. no. D.1099–1900; see <http://collections.vam.ac.uk>) and a small upright wooded scene of the mid-1630s (inv. no. CAI.1052; see *ibid.*). The open view of the Campagna, then in an English private collection (no. 3; pl. 42), about which he hesitated, is not by Claude; it was included in a sale, London, Christie's, 1 July 1986, lot 22 (as attributed to Claude), repr.
  64. Inv. no. 1976.8.1. Pen and brown ink, with pale brown wash and some white chalk, over graphite and black chalk, on apricot-toned paper; 203 x 266; see Kitson 1970, pl. 43; and [www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.55742](http://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.55742).
  65. Inv. no. 1532 DR. Pen and brown ink, with brown wash; 288 x 204 mm; see Pierre Rosenberg, "[Review of Roethlisberger 1968]," *Revue de l'Art*, 14, 1971, pp. 115–16, fig. 17; and <http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/detail/oeuvres/129/537491>. His other additions are a pen study of four figures, two of them drawing, preserved in the Musée Tavet-Delacour, Pontoise (inv. no. unknown; pen and brown ink; 112 x 190 mm; see Roethlisberger 1971, fig. 14; and Paris and Haarlem 2011–12, p. 18, fig. 3 [in color]); a *Pastoral Landscape with Shepherds and Their Flocks* in the Château Borély, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, de la Faïence et de la Mode, Marseille (inv. no. 68.82; pen and brown ink, with brown and gray wash; 200 x 280 mm; see Rosenberg 1971, fig. 15); and *Two Fighting Goats* in the Uffizi, Florence (inv. no. unknown; pen and brown ink; dimensions unknown; see *ibid.*, fig. 16).
  66. Inv. no. B1977.14.5223. Pen and brown ink, with brown and gray wash; 289 x 200 mm; see Marcel Roethlisberger, "Constable after Claude," *Master Drawings*, 7, no. 4, 1969, p. 426, pl. 32; and <http://collections.britishart.yale.edu/vufind/>



67. Inv. no. Mas.2546. Pen and brown ink, with brown wash; 126 x 98 mm; see Ann Sutherland Harris, "Claude Lorrain et Pierre de Cortone," *Revue de l'Art*, 11, 1971, pp. 85–86, fig. 1; Munich 1983, no. 68, repr.; and [www.ensba.fr/ow2/catzarts](http://www.ensba.fr/ow2/catzarts). Signed, inscribed, and dated in brown ink: at lower left, *Claudio*; and at lower right, *Roma / 1661*.
68. Inv. no. 400 (oil on canvas; 124 x 79 cm); see Sutherland Harris 1971, fig. 2; and <https://eu.art.com/products/p14193495-sa-i2954915>.
69. KdZ 1-1980. Pen and brown ink, with gray wash; 174 x 234 mm; see Werner Schade, "Unbekannte Figurenzeichnungen von Claude Lorrain," *Festschrift to Erik Fischer*, Copenhagen, 1990, pp. 141–46, fig. 1. The article also includes three unusual small sheets of classical female figures, unconnected with paintings.
70. Both pen and brown ink, with brown wash and opaque white, over black chalk, on faded blue paper; 270 x 345 and 265 x 355 mm; see London 1998, figs. 9 and 8. The backing paper of the first bears the mark NH (L. 1970) of the Italian musician and collector Nicola Francesco Haym (1678–1729), active in London from 1701.
71. Inv. no. PDUT872 (oil on copper; 28 x 36 cm); see RP 111; and [www.petitpalais.paris.fr/sites/default/files/claude-gellee.JPG](http://www.petitpalais.paris.fr/sites/default/files/claude-gellee.JPG).
72. London, British Museum, inv. no. 1957,1214.52. Pen and brown ink, with grayish-brown wash; 198 x 267 mm; see [www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online).
73. Inv. no. PD.950-1963 (oil on copper; 30.5 x 37.5 cm); see RP 90; and <http://data.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk>.
74. London, British Museum, inv. no. 1957,1214.41. Pen and brown ink, with brown wash and opaque white; on blue paper; 195 x 265 mm; see [www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online).
75. Inv. no. ATM 1158. Pen and brown and black ink, with brown and gray washes and opaque white, on paper toned light brown; 223 x 369 mm; see Slaven Perović, "Claude Gellée zvan Claude Lorrain," *Studije museja mimara*, 37, Zagreb, 2011, pp. 5–31, fig. 1 (in color). Signed, dated, and inscribed at lower left, in brown ink, *Claudio fecit / Roma 1666*. IMAGE: Goran Vranić.
76. Inv. no. 12795. Pen and brown ink, with brown and gray wash, over black chalk, on paper partially toned light brown; 152 x 210 mm; see Paris and Haarlem 2011–12, no. 68, repr. (in color); and <http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr>. Inscribed at upper right, in brown ink, *claudio*.
77. Brown wash, with opaque white, on apricot-toned paper; 215 x 280 mm; sale, New York, Sotheby's, 28 January 1998, lot 22, repr.; and *Old Master Drawings*, exh. cat., New York, W. M. Brady & Co., 1999, no. 8, repr. (in color).
78. Pen and brown ink, with brown and grayish-brown wash; 126 x 91 mm; see *ibid.*, no. 7, repr.
79. Inv. no. FJK 081. Pen and brown ink, with brown wash, on gray-blue paper; 412 x 260 mm; sale, London, Christie's, 7 July 1998, lot 176, repr. (in color); see Nicolas Sainte Fare Garnot et al., eds., *La Passion du dessin: Collection Jan et Marie-Anne Krugier-Poniatowski*, exh. cat., Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, 2002, no. 52, repr. (in color); and [www.fondationjankrugier.ch/fr/collection/fjk-081-lorrain-claude](http://www.fondationjankrugier.ch/fr/collection/fjk-081-lorrain-claude).
80. Pen and brown ink, with brown wash and opaque white, over black chalk; 190 x 255 mm; sale, London, Phillips, 2 July 1997, lot 55, repr.
81. Inv. no. Oo,7.231. Pen and brown ink, with brown wash and opaque white, over black chalk; 273 x 422 mm; see RD 904; and [www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online).
82. Inv. no. WA1926.1 (oil on canvas; 120 x 150 cm); see RP 222, repr.; and <http://collections.ashmolean.org/collection>.
83. Pen and brown ink, with brown wash and opaque white; 245 x 312 mm; sale, Paris, Piasa, 26 March 2003, lot 38, repr. (in color).
84. Pen and brown ink, with brown wash; 235 x 314 mm; sale, Paris, Christie's, 29 March 2012, lot 86 (bt. for €445,000), repr. (in color). The farmhouse is traced through on the verso.
85. In 1980 Chicago paid \$220,000 for the *Panorama from the Villa Sasso* (see Fig. 18); the *Landscape with Ascanius Shooting the Stag of Sylvia* fetched €300,000 at Piasa in 2003 (see Fig. 56). The highest recorded price to date was achieved at Christie's, New York, on 31 January 2013, when \$6,135,500 was paid for the *Wooded Landscape* from the Wildenstein album (see front cover).
86. The verso, for instance, of RD 354 (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. 1855.68 [formerly P I, 409]) was uncovered and identified as showing a part of Civitavecchia by Jon Whiteley, who retraced Claude's itinerary along the Tiber (see London 1998, p. 29, fig. 13).
87. The reading of the unclear inscription at the bottom of RD 636, now in the collection of Jean Bonna, Geneva, as "Avernus" (see Emmanuelle Brugerolles, *Suite française: Dessins de la collection Jean Bonna*, exh. cat., Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, 2006, no. 12, repr. [in color]) seems to me uncertain; the site does not look like Lake Averno, and there is no trace of a journey to Naples by Claude in the late 1640s.
88. As Michael Kitson noted (1970, p. 276), "Every drawing, particularly in the case of the drawings from nature, creates an interesting pattern of balanced tones and shapes, solid matching void, light matching dark, foreground matching background, and so on."
89. For example, RD 389, 539, 621, 707, 708, and 875, but a straight framing line does not preclude an initial sketch from nature.
90. In RD 723 (London, British Museum, inv. no. 1895,0915.905), for instance, the figure and animals in the foreground were added.